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CHINA AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

PAUL S. REINSCH

Formerly United States Minister to China

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THOMAS E. GREEN

Director Speakers' Bureau, American Red Cross

The Addresses*

THE HOME AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

By MRS. PHILIP NORTH MOORE,

President National Council of Women of the United States

IF CLEAR-THINKING men and women fail to meet the problems of today with intelligent devotion to liberty and justice for all, then the supreme sacrifice of youth in all the embattled nations will have been in vain.

Political unrest menaces the stability of nations. The United States is, perhaps, the greatest stabilizing factor in the world. Yet a nation can be no more static than an individual; it must either advance or decline.

When we speak, therefore, of the conservative element of a nation, the women and the home, we refer to the trend of thought, judgment, and will in the direction of the things that endure, and not in the direction of the things that destroy.

Woman's relation to education and the schools, to religion and the church, to publicity and the press, to the business world and finance, is accepted today, recognized as a conservative factor through the very origin and maintenance of the home, which is the center of our national life.

When a foreigner comes to our shores, what does our government mean to him? What effect has our flag upon his inner consciousness? The flag is the symbol, the government is the force, that protects his home, what he came to this country to obtain, and what every American takes for granted.

No country in the world has been so organized as to its woman power as the United States. Sincerely believing that the best good of humanity is advanced by unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the State, women united themselves in a federation of workers to further the

application of the "Golden Rule" to society, custom, and law.

The women of the United States realized that there must be a representative body of women, as a national basis, before initiating the idea of an international union of women, working toward constructive, co-operative ideals. The entire organized woman force of the world resulted from the vision of the women of the United States.

Our National Council comprises thirty national organizations of women, of conservatively ten million members. It is one of twenty-five national councils of women of other countries, numbering about twenty millions of women, having always in mind a "constructive foreign policy."

During these thirty years we have frequently used the familiar term, a "League of Nations," because we were banded together for the health and morals, the general welfare, of women and children.

Women worked quietly, unobtrusively, for their desired ends; but when the great catastrophe came they were not consulted, not even considered.

They had no voice in the councils of men. Would the result have been different if they had had that voice, which they will doubtless have before the next world war threatens? The destinies of those sorrowful countries were decided in many cases without a council of men.

Women are peace-loving; they are the mothers of men; they have gone through the agonies of death to bring these human beings into life. Yet, even more than men, women would fight for the peace that means honor.

The war has come and gone. These various organizations of women ceased to function, except in the war work of their own countries.

When the peace conferees were in session in Paris they were requested by the president of the International Council of Women to receive a deputation of representative women, and they granted the request, the special privilege of being the only delegation received in audience by the League of Nations Commission of the Peace Conference. The personnel of this deputation was interesting, including the international president, the president of the French Council, the conveners of several committees, the presidents or representatives of the councils of Italy, Roumania, Belgium, England, and the United States, with representatives also from the Suffrage Alliance.

In order to secure the entire co-operation of women, the deputation urged upon the Commission the inclusion of certain points in the Covenant:

1. That women should be eligible to sit on all bodies and to hold offices set up by the League. This was added to the Covenant.

2. That nations entering the League agree to suppress all forms of traffic in women and children. Such a clause has been included.

3. That the principle of woman suffrage be recognized, and that, where a referendum is taken in regard to a change of nationality, women be consulted equally with men. The latter was accorded.

* Commissioner Claxton's address will appear in our next number.—THE EDITOR.

4. That an international bureau of education and public health be instituted in the League. This was not specifically included, except as Article XXI establishes a permanent bureau of education as a part of the organization of the League.

This "constructive foreign policy" is being carried out in draft conventions, relative to various needs, by the women of nations interested in the League.

The Council of the United States has practically furnished the material for these draft conventions, although we may not participate in the commissions established.

Women have been placed on every committee where the interests of women and children and all economic relations are considered.

It is proposed to establish at the seat of the League an international women's congress in connection with the League, and an international bureau to raise the status of women wherever needed.

The women of the United States have been asked to give advice in various international matters, without direct participation. This is only one example of the entrance of women into international relations.

Recently when the Y. W. C. A. invited women physicians of fourteen countries to the United States to confer upon health conditions of women the world over, our organizations formed a foundation for health to carry out the findings of the physicians. This is being accomplished in every community. Meantime those physicians have taken back the plans, as we have outlined them, to the communities of Europe, China, and Japan, and also to South America.

There is no doubt of the home and its influence on a constructive foreign policy.

INDUSTRY AND A CONSTRUCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

By GEORGE SOULE,
Secretary Labor Bureau, Inc., New York

WE shall all agree, I think, that among the greatest forces which determine foreign policy are capital seeking investment and goods seeking markets. It is important, indeed, to attempt to regulate the interplay of such forces by a governed world. But government has its limitations. Until the economic forces of society are employed in a functional way, in such a way that they produce the maximum of mutual service with the minimum of exclusive rivalry, no merely judicial machinery will keep them from breeding, on occasion, ill-will and hostility.

The world just now offers two possible careers to an ambitious nation. One is the career of power through exploitation, the other the career of power through service. The first is the old, destructive game of the robber-baron nation, the other is the opportunity of a civilized society. The first leads to war and pestilence, the second may lead to the sort of world which all lovers of peace desire to see.

After years of exhausting destruction all the peoples stand in need of goods as never before. What is that

need to mean to those in positions of power? If we are ruled by the philosophy of the mediæval prince, we shall all engage in a scramble for exclusive control of oil, rubber, and the other vast natural resources of the undeveloped portions of the earth. We shall try to gain advantage by the possession of exclusive trade routes and by wars of tariffs. The nation which arrives in the strategic position will buy cheaply and sell dear. It will exploit its labor and extort tribute from its customers. Such a course is possible and easy. There is nothing to prevent the United States, for instance, from embarking upon it, if we wish to do so. But what would be the result? The limitation of production and the prolongation of starvation and poverty in Europe; the hostility of the rest of the world; a burdensome army and navy, kept in full strength by means of the propaganda of militarism; extremes of wealth and poverty at home, with a deteriorating population; in the end, disaster, for ourselves and probably also for modern civilization.

Industry, properly understood, has no interest in furthering such a destructive foreign policy. Industry is, first of all, interested in production. Every industrial engineer, every factory manager, every trained workman, wants to turn out goods, to turn them out well, and to win by honest competition in a contest of excellence. We have within our own borders enough capital, if we use it honestly; enough raw material, if we conserve it wisely; enough labor, if we see that it is not exploited, and enough technical skill, to supply a major portion of the world with many of the necessities of life. This is the way of service. It is the way of growth and peace.

So sharp is the alternative that it seems almost unnecessary to point it out. Will not Americans inevitably choose the second? Perhaps they would wish to, and yet by no means all Americans are conscious of what it implies. To win in a contest of service is not so simple as to break our way through to dominion by main force. The task of producing for the world's need will require a candid and fearless examination of every domestic maladjustment.

We are now losing needlessly forest after forest; we are destroying thousands of tons of coal a year; there is scarcely a great industry which is not economically wasteful in one way or another. Why? Engineers tell us because capital is content to reap the rewards of possession rather than to explore the possibilities of maximum service. Our transportation system is on the verge of collapse. The mounting cost of living, in part due to world-wide conditions, is also in large measure attributable to obstruction and confusion in the channels of distribution. One of the greatest food experts in the country is authority for the statement that probably half of the food raised never reaches the consumer and that of every dollar spent by the consumer on food only thirty cents reaches the farmer. Ten years ago one-third of our farmers were tenants; now the proportion is nearer one-half. The farms have not enough labor, and the drift to the cities merely emphasizes their unhealthful overcrowding. Housing is inadequate in every industrial center; capital seeking profit is no longer attracted to the construction of dwelling-places